2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*'.[1] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

The *Mósiro* and *Ahamanik* Languages

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ng* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diæresis has its usual grammatical significance.

' denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

" denotes a long open vowel. *a* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dale*) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ^ appears over a vowel, it means that the letter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

4:)Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his classmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kerwiek* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1938 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo*, like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

* Cf. my remarks in *JRAI* 59. 1929. p. 378.

?: Weyland M-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FLA Dorobo FL6

24/ [171] [132] have called one is termed *kuse ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Lembweng*, when there are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months: *Lemeu*, a time of rain; and *Lelokwin*, a time of much rain. A form of

The Calendar.—The Wandorobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 5 and 6, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty. 105

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Lelokwe, *Lemeku,* *Lekwe,* *Lemeu,*	*Lembweng,* *Lelokwe,* *Lemeku,* *Lelokwin,* *Lemeu,*	*Lelokwe,* *Lembweng,* *Lemeku,* *Lelokwin,* *Lemeu,*	*Lelokwe,* *Lembweng,* *Lemeku,* *Lelokwin,* *Lemeu,*	*Lembweng,* *Lemeu,* *Lelokwin,* *Lembweng.*

Food.—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wandorobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivorous of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chickens (the Dorobo say that this is because they—the Wandorobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and lion-traps are set for and with in the town. 262 [222]

Division of Labour.—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the harvests are cut, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community. 462

Recreations.—The Wandorobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

● 517

Manufactures.—The Wandorobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dorobo in exchange for tobacco. Their shields (*kwan*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*kin*) come from the Dorlogo country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing spear. These, it may be noted, are the only barbed spears I saw in Kavirondo. They are handmade (*sotchokwog*) of Dorobo origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world, they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs. 430 [195] [213] [419] [411] [363] [531]

/235 cont./

411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the new finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 94) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [324] [412] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirit, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here/ 411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion [237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] ing -- one of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [283] [324] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [191] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 439 [285] The Asa for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 820 191 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] [535] [533] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night. From

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

/337 cont./
which now and then, as though as an answer, the cry of a predatory animal resounds over to them. The dance differs from that of the Masai through the fact that the men do not lift their feet, but only raise their heels. The narrow, twisted plaza of the camp permits only dancing on the spot. Just as there, here too it is accompanied each time by song.

533 In a falsetto (1)

[24]

1. Recorded by Hans Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

the tone, just barely reachable, roughly the A above middle C (sometimes stricken), is strongly accented and shrilly sung out. In an extremely irregular beat the succession of tones now descends in the six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord of A. At the A below middle C the chest tone sets in, but relatively softer than the falsetto, until, descending in the same degrees of the scale, the second A below middle C is reached. The final tones are more certain, because they lie better for the singer; the falsetto usually hovers around the tone sought, in part uncertainly, in part playfully.

Appoggiaturas, triplets are repeated all the more frequently the more certain the artist gradually feels in adhering to the melody -- sit venia verbi /so to speak/. No other figures are observed. Finally the voice once more glides within the seventh chord up and down the last octaves; or the fundamental tone is phrased in contrapuntal fashion at the end. The entire song is an irregular variation of a six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord. It is limited almost entirely to two octaves. Through the greater probability of being hit properly the fundamental tones of the chord form the natural rest points for the voice and may sometimes be interpreted as strong parts of the measure. In marching they coincide with the putting down of one foot. Nevertheless there is not any sort of time that can be observed. The delivery is often parlando, and the tempo also corresponds to this style. The fact that the /334/ text is arranged ad libitum /at will/ for each one heightens the interest, if not the musical enjoyment, of the listeners.